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ABSTRACT

The exodus of blacks from the south is connected to their abandonment of farming as a way of life. Since 1860 there has been a gradual move by the black population out of the rural south to the urban north from which stems a remarkable shift of the black labor force into industry. The black population from 1940 to 1970 has progressed from industry-related careers, to careers in the professions, service-related careers, and public administration. (Various tables show the percent distribution, employment distribution, and changes in employed persons, aged 14 or over, by sex, race, and industry from 1940 to 1970. Included is a six-item bibliography.) (BP)

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THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK WORK FORCE IN THE SOUTH BY INDUSTRY*

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THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK WORK FORCE IN THE SOUTH BY INDUSTRY

Among the most striking developments of recent times are the exodus of Blacks from the South and their abandonment of farming as a way of life. And, within the South, there has been an extraordinary increase in the proportion of black women in the labor force, an increase that has been accompanied, however, by a puzzling fall in the corresponding proportion for black men. Along with these trends there has been a remarkable shift in the distribution of black workers by industry that is much greater than that observed for whites. It is these differences in participation in broad industry groups that is the subject of this paper.

Blacks were first imported for the purpose of raising tobacco, but it was cotton that accounted for the great influx of slaves, and it was cotton that was the mainstay of the black population until well into this century. As Myrdal stated:

> Most rural Negroes are in Southern cotton agriculture, which is particularly over-populated; backward in production methods; and hard hit by soil exhaustion, by the boll weevil, and by a long-time fall in international demand for American cotton.... In the beginning the Negroes were owned as property. When slavery disappeared, caste remained. Within this framework of adverse tradition the average Negro in every generation has had a most disadvantageous start.[1]

Dependent for the most part on one industry, agriculture, and one crop, cotton, blacks left the South in increasing numbers after the

Civil War, and within the South they drifted to the cities. The fact is that technological developments rendered unskilled labor superfluous. First the boll weevil, then acreage restrictions, and finally the cotton picker removed the need for thousands of black laborers and tenant farmers. When cotton was no longer king the black was forced into nonagricultural industries.

In 1860, on the eve of Emancipation, the 4.4 million blacks constituted 14 percent of the entire population of the United States and 37 percent of the population of the South. Only ten percent of the blacks lived outside the South, and it was not until World War I that that proportion was as high as 15 percent. By 1950, however, one in three blacks lived in the North and West, and today little more than half of the black population is Southern.[2]

Blacks who went North avoided rural areas. Like the Irish, who had also had disastrous experiences in agriculture, blacks migrated to the great cities. Today, only five percent of the black population outside the South is in nonmetropolitan areas, and even within the South only 33 percent are nonmetropolitan. Nevertheless, almost 4,000,000 of the 4,300,000 rural blacks are in the South.

Few populations have ever experienced so drastic or so rapid a redistribution. Obviously, there had to be a radical redistribution by industry and for this the black worker was poorly prepared. Not only was he uneducated and untrained, he also had to face the opposition of white workers, and their labor unions denied blacks whatever jobs they could. Even Samuel Gompers, the near canonized leader of the American

Federation of Labor considered the black worker a threat to union gains and concluded that:

"If the colored man continued to lend himself to the work of tearing down what the white man has built up, a race hatred far worse than any ever known will result. Caucasian civilization will serve notice that its uplifting process is not to be interfered with in any way."[3]

In the South, the initiation of industry found a somewhat different climate. Before the Civil War thought was given to the hiring of slave labor. As a mill owner in South Carolina put it:

"...experience has proved that any child, white or black, of ordinary capacity, may be taught, in a few weeks, to be expert in any part of a cotton factory; moreover, all overseers who have experience in the matter, give a decided preference to blacks as operatives."[4]

But the end of the Civil War found an abundance of white labor willing to work at low wages and to live in mill villages and trade in company stores. So poor and so prolific were the whites in the impoverished South that the South Carolina mill superintendent's estimate that "we usually figure on about five children to a family and usually get three of them into the mill keeping up a steady labor supply"[5] was not unrealistic. Furthermore, white workers bitterly resented competition from blacks, and often forced employers to discharge black workers or to relegate them to cleaning or other undesirable jobs.

As a result blacks found industrial opportunities to be limited except in times of national emergency. Thus World War I saw a great increase in the number of black locomotive firemen and in black railroad

brakemen, but post-war union and management practices prevented their promotion and kept other blacks from such employment. In the paper and allied products industry of South Carolina, black males constituded less than a quarter of all male workers in 1940. During the war the proportion soared to nearly 50 percent but fell to 15 percent by 1962. For black females the changes were even more extreme, from less than one percent of all female employees in 1940 to 45 percent in 1945, and back down to three percent in 1946.[5]

It should therefore not be too surprising to find that in 1940 one out of every two black male employees in the South was still in agriculture, while two out of every three black female employees were engaged in personal services [Table 1]. In fact, if we combine agriculture, forestry, and fishing with personal services we find that these two broad industry groups accounted for two out of three black male employees aged 14 and over and seven out of eight of black female employees. Small wonder that blacks, engaged in the lowest paying of occupations and in the region with the lowest wages, were of low social status. Nor were there grounds for much hope for the future.

World War II, however, brought great changes in the distribution of blacks by industry. In the first place, accelerated out-migration brought about an absolute decrease in the number of black male employees in the South. In 1950 there were fewer black male employees in the South than there had been in 1940, though the number of white employees was up by more than ten percent, and as of 1970 there were 250,000 fewer black male employees in the South than there had been at the beginning

Table 1

Percent Distribution of Employed Persons Aged 14 and Over by Sex, Color, and Industry: South, 1940-70

Industry	White**			Black		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1940						
Total Employed (000's)	10,053	8,036	2,017	3,527	2,341	1,185
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	29.2	34.9	6.4	41.4	51.8	20.7
Mining	3.3	4.0	0.2	1.3	2.0	*
Construction	5.0	6.1	0.3	3.1	4.6	0.1
Manufacturing	18.2	17.3	21.7	10.3	14.2	2.5
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility.	6.2	7.0	3.4	3.8	5.6	0.2
Wholesale and Retail Trade	16.3	15.0	21.4	6.7	8.4	3.4
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	2.4	2.1	3.6	0.9	1.1	0.6
Business and Repair Services	1.7	2.0	0.5	0.7	1.1	*
Personal Services	5.1	2.1	17.1	26.8	6.9	65.7
Entertainment and Recreation Services	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.2
Professional and Related Services	6.7	3.7	19.0	3.8	2.6	6.2
Government Services	5.2	5.1	5.7	0.8	1.0	0.4
1950						
Total Employed (000's	12,686	9,492	3,193	3,516	2,334	1,182
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	18.0	22.7	4.2	28.8	35.8	14.3
Mining	3.3	4.3	0.4	1.1	1.8	*
Construction	7.3	9.5	0.8	5.6	8.4	0.2
Durable Goods Manufacturing	7.2	8.7	3.0	8.3	12.0	0.9
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	12.7	10.9	18.3	5.8	7.1	3.3
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility.	7.6	8.5	4.8	5.2	7.5	0.6
Wholesale and Retail Trade	19.8	17.4	26.9	10.8	11.1	10.0
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	3.0	2.4	4.8	1.1	1.1	1.1
Business and Repair Services	2.5	3.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.1
Personal Services	4.1	2.2	9.5	23.0	6.3	55.9
Entertainment and Recreation Services	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.4
Professional and Related Services	8.0	4.3	18.7	6.5	4.0	11.5
Public Administration	5.6	5.2	6.7	2.4	2.8	1.7
1960						
Total Employed (000's)	14,527	9,968	4,559	3,357	2,013	1,344
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	8.6	11.6	2.1	15.7	22.1	6.4
Mining	2.2	3.0	0.4	0.5	0.8	*
Construction	7.4	10.4	0.9	6.5	10.7	0.2
Durable Goods Manufacturing	9.4	11.8	4.3	8.2	13.0	0.9
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	14.5	13.2	17.2	6.9	9.1	3.7
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility.	7.3	8.8	4.2	5.0	8.1	0.6
Wholesale and Retail Trade	20.8	18.9	24.6	12.9	14.8	10.0
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	4.3	3.4	6.2	1.3	1.4	1.1
Business and Repair Services	2.6	3.1	1.4	1.2	1.8	0.3
Personal Services	4.4	2.2	9.2	36.4	6.2	50.7
Entertainment and Recreation Services	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.4
Professional and Related Services	11.4	6.4	22.5	11.0	6.7	17.3
Public Administration	6.4	6.5	6.3	3.6	4.3	2.4
1970						
Total Employed (000's)	18,896	11,899	6,997	3,832,240	2,114,050	1,718,190
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	4.1	5.9	1.1	6.1	9.3	2.3
Mining	1.6	2.4	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.1
Construction	7.4	11.1	1.2	6.7	11.8	0.4
Durable Goods Manufacturing	10.6	13.4	5.7	10.4	15.4	4.3
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	12.9	11.8	14.7	11.2	12.2	9.8
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility.	6.9	8.6	4.0	6.0	9.3	1.9
Wholesale and Retail Trade	21.2	20.0	23.1	13.9	15.5	11.9
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	5.9	4.0	8.7	1.9	1.9	1.9
Business and Repair Services	3.1	3.7	2.1	1.8	2.5	1.0
Personal Services	3.8	2.0	6.9	16.9	4.4	32.4
Entertainment and Recreation Services	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.5
Professional and Related Services	16.1	9.2	27.9	18.4	9.9	28.8
Public Administration	6.6	7.2	5.5	5.8	6.1	4.7

* Less than 0.1 percent.

** Total Employed Persons Aged 16 and Over in 1970.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1940: U.S. Summary, Vol. III, Part 1, Table 77; Census of Population, 1950: U.S. Summary, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 161; Census of Population, 1960: U.S. Summary, Vol. I, Part 1, Table 260; and Census of Population, 1970: U.S. Summary, PC(1)-C1, Table 134, and Subject Reports: Negro Population, PC(2)-1B, Table 7.

of World War II. Among black females, however, there has been an increase of more than 500,000 employees over the thirty year period. One consequence is that black females are a higher proportion of the total female labor force in the South than black males are of total males; another is that the number of black female employees is now almost as high as that of black male employees.

As a proportion of the total number of employees in the South, blacks have declined markedly. In 1940, blacks constituted a quarter of Southern employees, in 1970 only 17 percent [Table 2]. Black males now constitute about one in every seven Southern male employees, black females one in every five female employees. For the most part, this is due to the decrease in the proportion which blacks are of the total population, but another factor is the sharp increase of white female employees as Southern women have reduced their fertility and moved into the labor force.

In 1940 there were more than 1,500,000 blacks in agriculture; by 1950 the number was down to the 1,000,000, by 1960 to 500,000, and today it is scarcely 200,000. Personal services also declined, but by no means as drastically. In 1940 almost 950,000 blacks were in this industry, by 1970 the number was nearly 300,000 fewer. Still 28 percent of the males and 53 percent of the females who were employed in personal services in the South were black. In no other industry is the proportion nearly so great.

In 1970 there were 1,500,000 fewer blacks in these two industries than there had been in 1940. What were the industries that absorbed

Table 2

Employed Persons Aged 14 and Over by Sex, Color, and Industry:
South, 1940-70

Industry	All Employees			Male			Female		
	Total	Black	Percent Black	Total	Black	Percent Black	Total	Black	Percent Black
1940									
All Categories	13,603,700	3,527,040	25.9	10,396,880	2,341,210	22.5	3,206,820	1,185,830	37.0
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	4,402,520	1,459,130	33.1	4,027,080	1,213,360	30.1	375,440	245,770	65.5
Mining	376,550	47,050	12.5	371,240	46,850	12.6	5,310	200	3.8
Construction	611,120	108,010	17.7	603,660	107,240	17.8	7,460	770	10.3
Manufacturing	2,188,040	361,210	16.5	1,720,130	331,720	19.3	467,910	29,490	6.3
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	762,600	134,240	17.6	691,220	132,230	19.1	71,380	2,010	2.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	1,872,770	236,480	12.6	1,400,880	195,660	14.0	471,890	40,820	8.6
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	277,930	31,870	11.5	197,380	25,140	12.7	80,550	6,730	8.4
Business and Repair Services	200,100	25,010	12.5	188,540	24,560	13.0	11,560	450	3.9
Personal Services	1,459,730	941,830	64.5	335,120	162,570	48.5	1,124,610	779,250	69.3
Entertainment and Recreation Services	86,520	17,790	20.6	71,050	15,670	22.0	15,470	2,120	13.7
Professional and Related Services	813,420	135,390	16.6	357,000	61,810	17.3	456,420	73,580	16.1
Government Services	552,400	29,070	5.3	433,580	24,420	5.6	118,820	4,650	3.9
1950									
All Categories	16,233,330	3,516,920	21.7	11,851,130	2,334,840	19.7	4,382,200	1,182,080	27.0
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	3,310,620	1,006,060	30.4	3,005,060	836,750	27.8	305,560	169,310	55.4
Mining	456,970	37,990	8.3	443,790	37,600	8.5	13,180	390	3.0
Construction	1,128,100	197,670	17.5	1,100,340	195,000	17.7	27,760	2,670	9.6
Durable Goods Manufacturing	1,209,230	290,620	24.0	1,103,370	279,960	25.4	105,860	10,660	10.1
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	1,822,590	204,920	11.2	1,197,910	165,530	13.8	624,680	39,390	6.3
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	1,111,310	182,960	16.0	979,270	176,010	18.0	162,040	6,950	4.3
Wholesale and Retail Trade	2,892,780	378,160	13.1	1,914,650	259,700	13.6	978,130	118,460	12.1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	419,390	38,100	9.1	255,030	25,560	10.0	164,360	12,540	7.6
Business and Repair Services	351,270	35,920	10.2	317,800	34,520	10.9	33,470	1,400	4.2
Personal Services	1,324,560	807,140	60.9	361,840	147,240	40.7	962,720	659,900	68.5
Entertainment and Recreation Services	136,880	23,110	16.9	104,180	18,540	17.8	32,700	4,570	14.0
Professional and Related Services	1,239,220	228,800	18.5	505,080	93,110	18.4	734,140	135,690	18.5
Public Administration	800,420	85,490	10.7	562,800	65,320	11.6	237,620	20,170	8.5
1960									
All Categories	17,927,190	3,357,160	18.7	12,011,020	2,013,310	16.8	5,916,170	1,343,850	22.7
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	1,785,940	527,510	29.5	1,601,840	441,990	27.6	184,100	85,520	46.4
Mining	339,230	16,890	5.0	320,660	16,610	5.2	18,570	280	1.5
Construction	1,300,180	217,130	16.7	1,254,460	214,480	17.1	45,720	2,650	5.8
Durable Goods Manufacturing	1,644,360	275,070	16.7	1,436,860	262,580	18.3	207,490	12,490	6.0
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	2,334,630	232,630	10.0	1,500,910	183,240	12.2	833,720	49,390	5.9
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	1,235,810	168,880	13.7	1,036,720	162,460	15.7	199,090	7,420	3.7
Wholesale and Retail Trade	3,449,040	435,240	12.6	2,187,220	297,280	13.6	1,261,820	136,000	10.8
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	669,100	43,450	6.5	371,150	28,560	7.7	297,950	14,890	5.0
Business and Repair Services	418,280	40,270	9.6	349,780	36,660	10.5	68,500	3,610	5.3
Personal Services	1,533,430	887,790	57.9	351,420	125,650	35.8	1,182,010	762,140	64.5
Entertainment and Recreation Services	125,440	26,540	21.2	89,060	20,920	23.5	36,380	5,620	15.4
Professional and Related Services	2,034,630	368,040	18.1	774,510	135,580	17.5	1,260,120	232,460	18.4
Public Administration	1,057,110	119,680	11.3	736,430	87,300	11.9	320,680	32,380	10.1
1970									
All Categories	22,797,480	3,832,240	16.8	14,051,820	2,114,050	15.0	8,745,660	1,718,190	19.6
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	1,018,070	325,410	23.1	897,950	195,910	21.8	120,120	29,500	22.9
Mining	329,760	18,410	5.6	301,600	17,270	5.7	28,150	1,140	4.0
Construction	1,664,980	255,640	15.4	1,573,890	248,920	15.8	91,090	6,720	7.4
Durable Goods Manufacturing	2,399,980	399,810	12.5	1,924,100	326,560	17.0	475,890	73,250	15.4
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	2,875,360	427,840	14.9	1,672,600	258,900	15.5	1,202,760	168,940	14.0
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	1,542,200	228,700	14.8	1,227,250	195,730	15.9	314,950	32,970	10.5
Wholesale and Retail Trade	4,536,720	531,910	11.7	2,713,580	327,270	12.1	1,823,140	204,640	11.2
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	1,015,060	73,420	7.2	512,120	40,010	7.8	502,960	33,410	6.6
Business and Repair Services	656,510	69,850	10.6	491,160	52,920	10.8	165,350	16,930	10.2
Personal Services	1,370,890	649,230	47.4	329,780	92,680	28.1	1,041,110	556,550	53.4
Entertainment and Recreation Services	164,990	27,900	16.9	109,180	19,790	18.1	55,810	8,110	14.5
Professional and Related Services	3,769,820	704,460	18.7	1,309,990	209,060	16.0	2,459,830	495,400	20.1
Public Administration	1,453,120	209,860	14.4	988,620	129,030	13.1	464,490	80,830	17.4

Source: Same as Table 1.

them? Offhand we might assume that Southern blacks would have been drawn into those industries that required the least skills and those which were least unionized. Actually we find that except for mining, a generally diminishing industry, there were sharp increases in every industry group.

Considerable gains were in manufacturing, where the number of black employees increased by nearly half a million. A greater gain, however, was registered for professional and related services, and in public administration, to which we may roughly equate the government services category shown for 1940, the gain was nearly 200,000. For these two white collar categories, there was an increase of more than 750,000 black employees even though the total increase was 4,000,000. Thus, the number of black employees has especially increased in just those industries where the greatest discrimination might have been expected. Given the generally low educational levels of blacks before World War II the rise of blacks in professional and public services must be considered phenomenal.

Professional and related services has, in fact, become a leading employer of black females. True, 32 percent of black females are in personal services, but 29 percent are in professional and related services. Taken together, professional and related services and public administration account for one in every three black female employees, as compared with 16 percent of black males. For black males the most impressive increase has been in manufacturing. From 14 percent in 1940 the number engaged in this industry rose to 28 percent in 1970, at which

time manufacturing was the leading industry groups for black males in the South.

It is interesting to note the timing of the movement of blacks into various industries. Between 1940 and 1950 there was a heavy movement of blacks out of agriculture and into manufacturing. In the next decade, however, there was an actual decrease in the number of blacks in durable goods manufacturing and only a modest increase in nondurable goods manufacturing. In the 1960's, however, there were sharp increases in the number of blacks in both durable and nondurable goods manufacturing. Indeed the increase in the number of blacks in manufacturing in this decade alone was almost equal to the total number employed in manufacturing in 1940.

Between 1940 and 1950 the increase in black employment in manufacturing was largely male, but in the next decade the slight increase was almost totally female [Table 3]. And in the 1960's the number of black females in manufacturing more than quadrupled. During this decade more black females than black males went into manufacturing. If this trend continues black females will soon outnumber black males as employees in nondurable goods manufacturing as they already do in professional and related services.

The decade of the 1960's was indeed a banner one for black females in the South. During that period the number of black female employees increased by nearly 400,000 as against 100,000 for black males. Furthermore, there was a decrease of almost 200,000 black females in personal services as against an increase of nearly 300,000 in

Table 3

Changes in Employed Persons Aged 14 and Over, by Sex, Color, and Industry: South, 1940-50 to 1960-70

Industry	Changes in the Employed Over Preceding Decade						Percent Change					
		White		Black				White		Black		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1940-50												
All Categories	2,632,200	1,455,720	1,176,480	-10,120	-6,370	-3,750	26.2	18.1	58.3	-0.3	-0.4	-0.3
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	-540,110	-445,870	5,760	-453,070	-376,610	-76,460	-21.8	-23.0	4.5	-31.0	-31.0	-31.1
Mining	89,470	81,800	7,670	-9,060	-9,250	190	27.2	25.2	130.1	-19.3	-19.7	95.0
Construction	426,420	408,050	18,370	89,690	87,790	1,900	84.9	82.3	274.6	83.0	81.8	346.8
Manufacturing	707,900	466,110	241,790	134,330	113,770	20,560	28.5	33.6	55.2	37.2	34.3	69.7
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	329,390	243,730	85,670	48,720	43,780	4,940	52.5	43.6	123.6	36.3	33.1	245.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	878,790	448,780	428,010	141,680	64,040	77,640	53.7	37.3	99.4	59.9	32.7	190.2
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	135,170	57,200	77,970	6,230	420	5,810	55.0	33.2	105.7	19.5	1.7	86.3
Business and Repair Services	140,100	119,150	20,950	10,910	9,960	950	80.1	72.7	188.7	43.6	40.6	211.1
Personal Services	-650	42,160	-42,810	-134,690	-15,330	-119,360	-0.1	24.6	-12.4	-14.3	-8.4	-15.3
Entertainment and Recreation Services	44,960	30,200	14,760	5,320	2,870	2,450	65.5	54.6	110.7	29.9	18.3	115.6
Professional and Related Services	331,620	116,410	215,210	93,410	31,300	62,110	48.9	39.5	86.3	69.0	50.6	84.4
Government Services	191,170	88,030	103,140	56,420	40,900	15,520	36.6	21.6	90.4	194.1	167.5	333.8
1950-60												
All Categories	1,841,690	476,410	1,365,280	-159,760	-321,530	161,770	14.5	5.0	42.8	-4.5	-13.8	13.8
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	-1,041,360	-1,003,910	-37,450	-478,550	-394,760	-83,790	-45.5	-46.6	-28.0	-47.0	-47.2	-48.5
Mining	-96,820	-102,280	5,460	-21,100	-20,990	-110	-23.1	-25.2	42.7	-55.5	-55.8	-28.2
Construction	151,490	133,550	17,940	19,460	19,480	-20	16.3	14.8	71.6	9.8	10.0	-0.8
Durable Goods Manufacturing	449,450	349,850	99,600	-15,550	-17,380	1,830	49.0	42.6	104.7	-5.4	-6.2	17.2
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	482,700	284,360	198,340	27,710	17,710	10,000	34.9	27.6	33.9	13.5	10.7	16.4
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	106,990	70,500	36,490	-14,080	-13,550	470	11.2	8.8	23.5	-7.7	-7.7	6.8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	497,950	233,130	264,820	55,130	37,580	17,540	19.8	14.1	30.8	14.6	14.5	14.8
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	344,030	112,980	131,060	5,350	3,000	2,350	90.3	49.3	86.4	14.0	11.7	18.7
Business and Repair Services	62,360	29,640	32,710	4,350	2,140	2,210	19.8	10.5	102.1	13.1	6.2	157.9
Personal Services	126,940	11,000	115,940	80,650	-21,590	102,240	24.6	5.2	38.4	10.0	-14.7	15.5
Entertainment and Recreation Services	-14,960	-17,520	2,560	1,430	2,380	1,050	-13.2	-20.5	9.1	14.8	12.8	23.0
Professional and Related Services	652,010	224,670	427,340	134,340	42,470	96,770	64.6	54.7	71.5	60.9	45.6	71.3
Public Administration	220,910	150,430	70,480	53,190	31,980	12,210	31.0	30.3	32.4	40.0	33.6	60.5
1960-70												
All Categories	4,368,150	1,929,450	2,438,700	475,080	100,740	374,340	30.1	42.3	53.5	14.2	5.0	27.9
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	-468,320	-452,210	-16,110	-292,100	-246,080	-46,020	-37.5	-39.2	-16.7	-55.4	-55.7	-53.8
Mining	-11,450	-20,090	8,640	1,520	660	860	-3.6	-6.6	47.4	9.0	4.0	307.1
Construction	323,790	281,700	42,090	38,510	34,440	4,070	30.0	27.2	98.6	17.1	16.1	153.6
Durable Goods Manufacturing	625,770	419,720	206,050	124,740	63,980	60,760	45.8	35.8	105.8	45.3	24.4	486.5
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing	339,990	94,490	245,500	195,210	75,660	119,550	16.2	7.3	31.3	83.9	41.3	242.1
Transport., Commun., and Other Public Utility	248,680	248,780	89,900	59,820	33,270	26,550	23.1	28.2	47.0	35.4	20.5	413.6
Wholesale and Retail Trade	987,600	498,220	489,370	98,630	29,990	68,640	32.8	26.4	43.6	22.8	10.1	50.5
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	312,840	128,650	185,200	29,970	11,450	18,520	50.0	37.6	65.5	69.0	40.1	124.4
Business and Repair Services	207,560	124,320	83,240	29,580	16,280	13,370	56.0	39.8	128.5	73.4	44.4	369.0
Personal Services	77,770	12,840	64,930	-238,560	-32,970	-206,090	12.1	5.7	15.6	-26.9	-26.2	-27.0
Entertainment and Recreation Services	38,290	21,340	16,950	1,360	-1,130	2,490	38.8	31.4	55.3	5.1	-5.4	44.3
Professional and Related Services	1,386,510	456,540	929,960	336,420	73,480	262,940	83.5	71.8	90.7	91.4	54.2	113.1
Public Administration	302,110	209,150	93,960	89,980	41,730	48,250	32.3	32.2	32.7	75.2	47.8	149.0

Source: Same as Table 1.

professional and related services. Only in construction and transportation, communication and public utilities was there a numerical increase in the number of black males that was greater than that for black females.

For no other race-sex group is the distribution of employees as extreme as it is for black females. Nearly one in three black females is still in personal services, but another third are in professional and related services. Almost exactly the same percentage of black and white women are employed in professional and related services and in public administration, but in every other white collar industry black women lag notably. It would seen that for younger and better educated black women entry into professio al or governmental pursuits is relatively easy, while for older and less educated women personal services is still the most likely employment.

Among black males the most remarkable trend was the exodus from agriculture, with a redistribution in quite regular fashion over most of the other industries. For females, however, the major decline was in personal services, and the great part of the gain was in professional and related services. For black males the gains have been most notable in industries which employ chiefly blue collar workers. Thus the upgrading of the black female labor force has been more extreme than that for black males.

Finally we may compare the proportion of blacks aged 14 and over in different industries with the proportion in the population aged 16 and over. Blacks were 17 percent of the population of working age in the South in

1970. By contrast black males were 15 percent of the total male employees while black females were 20 percent of female employees. Black males were still overrepresented in agriculture and in personal services, and they were most underrepresented in finance, insurance, and real estate, wholesale and retail trade and in business and repair services and in the relatively unimportant mining industry. Black females, on the other hand were still much overrepresented in personal services, and notable underrepresented in wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate.

For both black males and females great improvements in industrial distribution occurred during the decade of World War II but progress was limited during the 1950's. The 1960's, however, were years of accelerated change, with the distribution of blacks in the various industries moving toward that of whites at a pace probably greater than ever before, certainly greater than at any time since World War II. It still remains to be seen, however, whether the great improvements that were made during the 1960's continue at the same rate in the 1970's.

Certainly it is true that the explicit bars to black employment have been greatly lessened, though not completely eliminated. And while subtle forms of discrimination still abound, the entry of black males into manufacturing and black females into professional and related services and into public administration indicates a future for Southern blacks that is far different from the past. Among the results, just now beginning to be apparent, are a reevaluation of the South by blacks as a place to live. Clearly there is little future for blacks in Southern

agriculture, but we may see other Southern cities dubbed, as was Atlanta by Ebony Magazine, as a "Black Mecca."

FOOTNOTES

1. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Vol. I (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1962, paperback), pp. 205-208.
2. Ray Marshall, The Negro Worker (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 4-5.
3. Ray Marshall, The Negro and Organized Labor (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 19. (Marshall quotes American Federationist, September 1905).
4. Richard L. Rowan, "The Negro in the Textile Industry," in Herbert R. Northrup et al. (eds.), Negro Employment in Southern Industry: A Study of Racial Policies in Five Industries, Vol. IV, Part Five (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 47. (Rowan quotes Broadus Mitchell, The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1921, p. 210).
5. Rowan, op. cit., p. 57. (Rowan quotes Ben F. Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachia Piedmont, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933, p. 47).
6. Herbert R. Northrup et al., Negro Employment in Southern Industry: A Study of Racial Policies in Five Industries, Vol. VI (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 50.